Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli
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10

Clause combinations

In Sarikoli, clauses may be combined by means of coordination (§10.1) or subordination (§10.2). This chapter describes the various types of clause combinations and the syntactic strategies that mark those constructions.

10.1 Coordination

Coordination is the conjoining of two or more elements of the same grammatical status. §2.3.2 shows how nouns within an NP may be coordinated, while this section describes how independent clauses may be coordinated.

Independent clauses may be coordinated by means of conjunctions or by simple juxtaposition without any conjunctions, and both are common ways to achieve coordination. If the conjuncts contain verbal predicates, each of the verbs is in the finite stem and has its own agreement clitic. Table 10.1 summarizes the types of coordination presented in this chapter.

Table 10.1 Types of coordination

Coordination type	Marker	Reference
Cumulative	*ham*; *mas*; *at*	§10.1.1
Sequential	*χu*	§10.1.2
Causal	*kazwi*	§10.1.3
Adversative	*hammo*; *lɛkin*	§10.1.4
Disjunctive	*jo(ki)*; *χu*	§10.1.5
Asyndetic	*Ø*	§10.1.6

10.1.1 Cumulative coordination

There are three ways of achieving cumulative coordination. The first is to use the coordinating conjunction *ham* 'and', which is used for conjoining two or more predicates together. When clauses are coordinated with *ham*, all of the conjuncts must have the same type of predicate, whether verbal or non-verbal. *ham* is placed before the object and predicate of each conjunct, but the *ham* in the first conjunct is optional and may be omitted. (10.1) - (10.4) are examples of cumulative coordination with verbal predicates and (10.5) - (10.7) contain non-verbal predicates. If the first predicate is modified by a degree adverbial, *ham* in the first conjunct is usually omitted, as in (10.6) & (10.7); alternatively, both conjuncts have *ham* as well as the same degree adverbial, as in (10.8).

(10.1) *ar* *tej* *(ham)* *uṣul* *ka=in* *ham*
    LOC wedding CONJ dance do.IPFV=3PL.IPFV CONJ

    dof *noj* *χej=in*
    tambourine flute play.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
    'At a wedding they dance and play the tambourine and flute.'

(10.2) *waz* *çitç* *(ham)* *χuzmat* *ka=am* *ham*
    1SG.NOM now CONJ work do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV CONJ

    xuj=am *ham* *kalo* *poj=am*
    read.IPFV=1SG.IPFV CONJ sheep herd.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
    'I am now working and studying and herding sheep.'

(10.3) *wi* *tar* *um* *jam* *batço* *fand-an*
    3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC there 3SG.NOM.PROX child false-GEN

    tsarang *ẓit* *vid=i* *wazondẓ* *ham* *tagəw* *fand* *na*
    how bad be.INF=SC know.PRF CONJ at.all false NEG

    ðod=itçuz *sɛðdẓ*
    give.INF=REL become.PRF
    'Since then, this child learned how bad it is to lie, and has become someone who never tells lies at all. (Evidentiality/New information)'

(10.4) *(ham) rasim   toʑ = in   ham   awudʑ*
CONJ   picture pull.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV CONJ sound

  zoʑ = in
  get.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
'They take pictures and record audio.'

(10.5) *mu   puts (ham) duχtur ham   olim*
1SG.NNOM son CONJ doctor CONJ scholar
'My son is a doctor and a scholar.'

(10.6) *mu   χor   utɕ   ɕuv   ham   aqlin*
1SG.NNOM nephew very well.behaved CONJ smart
'My nephew is very well-behaved and smart.'

(10.7) *tudʑik χalg-an   wi   vrəw utɕ pur   ham*
Tajik   person-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST brow very much CONJ

  tor
  black
'Tajik people's eyebrows are very thick and dark.'

(10.8) *tudʑik χalg-an   wi   vrəw ham   utɕ pur*
Tajik   person-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST brow CONJ very much

  ham   utɕ tor
  CONJ very black
'Tajik people's eyebrows are very thick and very dark.'

The second type of cumulative coordination involves the use of the particle *mas* 'also', which is placed before the predicate of each conjunct. The predicate in the second clause may be omitted. This is exemplified in (10.9) - (10.13):

(10.9) *paləw mas ka = an,   ɕirgirindʑ mas*
pilaf also do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV Shirgirinj also

  (ka = an)
  do.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
'We will make pilaf as well as Shirgirinj.'

(10.10) *ong mas wazond,   adabjot mas (wazond)*
tune also know.3SG.IPFV lyrics   also know.3SG.IPFV
'He knows the tune as well as the lyrics.'

(10.11)   *puɣan   mas   joð = it,   fal   mas*
              tomorrow also come.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV two.days.hence also

              (joð = it),   ʁadar   mas
              come.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV three.days.hence also

              (joð = it)
              come.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
              'Come(pl) tomorrow, and the day after, and the day after.'

(10.12)   *sarikuj   ziv   mas   lɛv = in,   pursi   ziv   mas*
              Sarikoli tongue also say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV Persian tongue also

              (lɛv = in)
              say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
              'They speak Sarikoli as well as Persian.'

(10.13)   *gulbibi   mas   qɛtɕin,   ɕanigul   mas   (qɛtɕin)*
              Geelbibi also pregnant Shanigeel also pregnant
              'Geelbibi is pregnant, as well as Shanigeel.'

The conjunction *at* is most often used for conjoining two NPs (as shown in
§2.3.2), but it is also used for conjoining repeated verbs in narratives. In
narratives, sometimes the same verb is repeated multiple times to indicate that
the activity is continuous. The following examples are taken from narratives,
and *at* occurs after each repetition of the verb, unless the last repetition is
followed by the subordinating conjunction *iko*, as in (10.16).

(10.14)   *k = ar   wi   doxt   wajəw ðid*
              ANA = LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST wilderness walk   give.3SG.IPFV

              at   ðid   at   ðid   at
              CONJ give.3SG.IPFV CONJ give.3SG.IPFV CONJ

              ðid   at   aluk   səwd   χu
              give.3SG.IPFV CONJ tired become.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ

              xufst
              sleep.3SG.IPFV
              'He walks and walks and walks and walks in that wilderness and
                gets tired and falls asleep.'

(10.15)   *tid   az   ʐabu ki = wi   rang*
go.INF ABL back ANA = 3SG.NNOM.DIST SEMB

      ʁirs = in   at   ʁirs = in   at
      turn.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV CONJ turn.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV CONJ

      ʁirs = in   at   i   puts az wɛf
      turn.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV CONJ one son ABL 3PL.NNOM.DIST

      i   dʐom vrejd
      one scoop find.3SG.IPFV
      'After going, he goes around and around and around and around
        like that and one son from among them finds a scoop.'

(10.16)   *a = ujnak   k = dos   χu   pa   prud*
ACC = glass ANA = manner REFL.NNOM LOC front

      lakaxt   tɕost   at   tɕost   at
      put.3SG.IPFV look.3SG.IPFV CONJ look.3SG.IPFV CONJ

      tɕost   at   tɕost   at   tɕost
      look.3SG.IPFV CONJ look.3SG.IPFV CONJ look.3SG.IPFV

      iko   di-an   i   vrud   xtur   vijojdʐ
      COMP 3SG.NNOM.PROX-GEN one brother camel ride.PRF

      ʁarst = ik
      turn.3SG.IPFV = DUR
      'He puts the mirror in front of him like that and looks and looks
        and looks and looks and looks into it and sees that one of his
        brothers is riding and camel and going around.'

10.1.2 Sequential coordination

Sequential coordination conjoins clauses with situations that take place sequentially. The temporal conjunction *χu* is used to show temporal sequence between finite clauses. *χu* occurs between the conjuncts; intonation patterns and pauses indicate that in conversation, *χu* belongs to the first clause, but in narrative, it may belong to the second clause. (10.17) - (10.22) are examples of *χu* occurring in conversation. Commas are used to indicate pauses.

(10.17)   *a＝di*   *tɕɛr   adu   ka＝am*
          ACC＝3SG.NNOM.PROX   work   finish   do.IPFV＝1SG.IPFV

          χu,   skit   ka＝am
          TEMP.CONJ   play   do.IPFV＝1SG.IPFV
          'I will finish this work and then play.'

(10.18)   *tom   so＝am   χu,*
          then   become.IPFV＝1SG.IPFV   TEMP.CONJ

          joð＝am
          come.IPFV＝1SG.IPFV
          'Then I will go there and come back.'

(10.19)   *awal   mejmun-ɛf＝ir   tɕoj   wejð   χu,*
          first   guest-PL.NNOM＝DAT   tea   put.IPFV   TEMP.CONJ

          mu＝ri   jordam   ka
          1SG.NNOM＝DAT   help   do.IPFV
          'First pour tea for the guests and then help me.'

(10.20)   *woð   i   maθ   dam   zoz＝in   χu,*
          3PL.NOM   one   day   rest   get.IPFV＝3PL.IPFV   TEMP.CONJ

          joð＝in
          come.IPFV＝3PL.IPFV
          'They rest for one day and then come.'

(10.21)   *amirɕu   χu   ɣin   qati   jot   χu,   uz*
          Amirshu   REFL.NNOM   wife   COM   come.PFV   TEMP.CONJ   again

          tujd
          go.PFV
          'Amirshu came with his wife and then left again.'

(10.22)   *tamaɕ＝af   χug   χu*
          2PL.NOM＝2PL.PFV   eat.PFV   TEMP.CONJ

          jot＝af＝o
          come.PFV＝2PL.PFV＝Q
          'Did you(pl) eat and then come?'

The following are examples of *χu* occurring in narrative. In (10.23) - (10.25), it is preceded by a pause and belongs to the second clause. (10.26) & (10.27) contain instances of *χu* occurring both clause-finally and clause-initially.

(10.23)   *tom   wi=ri   lɛq   ðid*
          then   3SG.NNOM.DIST=DAT   clothing   give.3SG.IPFV

        jad   ju   kaxt,   χu
        3SG.NOM.PROX   3SG.NOM.DIST   do.3SG.IPFV   TEMP.CONJ

        tej   waðor=in
        wedding   grab.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
        'Then he gives him clothing and does this and that, and they hold
        a wedding ceremony.'

(10.24)   *uz   ʁarst   ki=di   rang,*
          again   turn.3SG.IPFV   ANA=3SG.NNOM.PROX   SEMB

        χu   uvd   sul   fropst
        TEMP.CONJ   seven   year   reach.3SG.IPFV
        'He goes around again like that, and seven years pass.'

(10.25)   *səwd   χu   ar   mala*
          become.3SG.IPFV   REFL.NNOM   LOC   housing.compound

        dɛðd,   χu   az   fil   χofst
        enter.3SG.IPFV   TEMP.CONJ   ABL   elephant   go.down.3SG.IPFV
        'He goes and enters his housing compound and gets off the ele-
        phant.'

(10.26)   *jad   mas   joðd   χu,   a=ktɕawi*
          3SG.NOM.PROX   also   come.3SG.IPFV   TEMP.CONJ   ACC=ring

        wi   az   ðust   tojʑd   waʑafst
        3SG.NNOM.DIST   ABL   hand   pull.3SG.IPFV   go.back.3SG.IPFV

        χofst,   χu   joðd   χu
        go.down.3SG.IPFV   TEMP.CONJ   come.3SG.IPFV   REFL.NNOM

        kalo   χejz
        sheep   side
        'He also comes and pulls the ring off her hand and returns and
        goes down, and comes to his sheep.'

(10.27) *a＝wi*   *roft*   *χu,*   *pa*
         ACC＝3SG.NNOM.DIST   spread.3SG.IPFV   TEMP.CONJ   LOC

    tɕɛd   *dejd＝ir*   *at*   *jad*   *mas*
    house   enter.INF＝DAT   CONJ   3SG.NOM.PROX   also

    ʐuzd,   *χu*   *wi*   *tar*   *pɛð*
    run.3SG.IPFV   TEMP.CONJ   3SG.NNOM.DIST   LOC   foot

    a＝χu   *patəwd*
    a＝REFL.NNOM   throw.3SG.IPFV
    'He spreads it on and is about to enter the house, and this one also
    runs and throws himself at that one's feet.'

This construction may be used with perfective situations, as in (10.21) &
(10.22), and with imperfective situations, as in the remaining examples, as
long as all of the conjoined clauses within the sentence have the same aspect.

The temporal conjunction *χu* is also used for causal coordination (§10.1.3) or
for expressing confusion, unacceptance, and dissatisfaction (§13.9).

10.1.3 Causal coordination

Sarikoli most commonly uses the causal conjunction *kazwi* to link one clause
with another clause providing the reason or explanation for it. The conjunc-
tion *kazwi* is derived from the merging of *k(i)＝ az wi* 'from that' (anaphoric
clitic + ablative marker + 3sg non-nominative distal demonstrative), and
indicates a causal relation between two situations. In this construction, the
reason clause is given first, followed by *kazwi*, and then the result clause.
Syntactically, *kazwi* belongs to the result clause. This type of coordination is
illustrated in (10.28) - (10.34) below. As shown in these examples, each of the
conjuncts in causal coordination may take any aspect, and does not necessarily
share the same aspect as the other conjunct within the same sentence.

(10.28) *mu*   *dud*   *a＝mu*   *qiw*   *tɕəwg,*   *kazwi＝am*
         1SG.NNOM   uncle   ACC＝1SG.NNOM   call   do.PFV   so＝1SG.PFV

    jot
    come.PFV
    'My uncle called me, so I came.'

(10.29) *m-oto*   *kasal suut,*   *kazwi=am*
1SG.NNOM=father sick   become.PFV so=1SG.PFV

    wi=ri   *tamoq jud*
    3SG.NNOM.DIST=DAT food   take.PFV
'My father has gotten sick, so I took him food.'

(10.30) *woð=af*   *a=di*   *ðud,*
3PL.NOM.DIST=3PL.PFV ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX hit.PFV

    kazwi=ik niwd
    so=DUR   cry.3SG.IPFV
'They hit him, that is why he is crying.'

(10.31) *wɛf-an*   *pul   nist,*   *kazwi ejd   na*
3PL.NNOM.DIST-GEN money NEG.be.IPFV so   festival NEG

    narzambon=in
    celebrate.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'They do not have money, that is why they do not celebrate the
    festival.'

(10.32) *sojra=ri*   *χuɕ,*   *kazwi=am*   *vəwg*
Soyra=DAT happy   so=1SG.PFV bring.PFV
'Soyra likes it, that is why I brought it.'

(10.33) *i   dam dɛr   uz   χor=am,*   *kazwi ɕitɕ na*
one rest CPRV again eat.IPFV=1SG.IPFV so   now NEG

    χor=am
    eat.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I will eat again later, so I will not eat right now.'

(10.34) *sodil pugan   joðd,*   *kazwi=an*
Sodil tomorrow come.3SG.IPFV so=1PL.PFV

    a=wi   *znud*
    ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST wash.PFV
'Sodil is coming tomorrow, that is why we washed it.'

The temporal conjunction *χu* sometimes gives rise to a causal interpretation:

(10.35) *waz = am*   *χu*   *tilfon*   *bunost*   *χu*
      1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV   REFL.NNOM   phone   lose.PFV   TEMP.CONJ

        ta   *numuur = am*   *bunost*
        2SG.NNOM   number = 1SG.PFV   lose.PFV
      'I lost my phone, so I lost your number.'

(10.36) *zejnura*   *sɛð*   *nudʑ* *jot*   *χu*   *nəwz*
      Zeynura   this.year   new   come.PFV   TEMP.CONJ   still

        k = um   *seðdʑ = ɛndʑ*   *nist*
        ANA = there   become.PRF = REL   NEG.be.IPFV
      'Zeynura is new here this year, so she has not been there yet.'

10.1.4 Adversative coordination

For expressing contrasting or counterexpectational relations between clauses, Sarikoli uses the adversative conjunctions *hammo* and *lɛkin* 'but', which are cognate with Persian and may be used interchangeably. The adversative conjunction occurs between the two conjoined elements, and syntactically belongs to the second clause. There are no aspect restrictions for the conjuncts in adversative coordination. The sentences in (10.37) - (10.43) are examples of clauses coordinated in adversative relations.

(10.37) *asl-i*   *ta*   *χejz = am*   *tid*   *mejdʑ* *vuud,*
      origin-ADV   2SG.NNOM   side = 1SG.PFV   go.INF   INTEN   be.PFV

        hammo *mu-an*   *digar* *tɕɛr*   *naxtɯg*
        but   1SG.NNOM-GEN   other   work   go.up.PFV
      'I was originally planning to go over to your place, but something else came up.'

(10.38) *mu*   *dil*   *na*   *tid,*   *lɛkin* *na*   *tɛdz = am*
      1SG.NNOM   heart   NEG   go.INF   but   NEG   go.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV

        tsa   *na*   *səwd*
        COND   NEG   become.3SG.IPFV
      'I do not want to go, but I must go.'

(10.39) *suat   nəw   suit,   lɛkin   mu   vits   nəwz   na*
hour   nine   become.PFV   but   1SG.NNOM   aunt   still   NEG

    jot
    come.PFV
'It is 9 o'clock, but my aunt still has not come.'

(10.40) *m-ono   wɛf=ir   lɛvd,   hammo*
1SG.NNOM-mother   3PL.NNOM.DIST=DAT   say.PFV   but

    woð   pa   gap   na   tɕomb=in
    3PL.NOM.DIST   LOC   word   NEG   be.willing.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'My mother told them, but they are not willing to listen.'

(10.41) *waz   so=am,   lɛkin   ta   qati   na*
1SG.NOM   become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV   but   2SG.NNOM   COM   NEG

    so=am
    become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I will go, but I will not go with you.'

(10.42) *vɛrθ   duruist,   lɛkin   az   dʑam   suf   tudʑik   gap*
both   whole   but   ABL   all   pure   Tajik   word

    mi=jad
    CATA=3SG.NOM.PROX
'They are both correct, but the most pure Tajik word is this one.'

(10.43) *ju   χui   pul   har   tsarang-in   waχt*
3SG.NOM.DIST   REFL.NNOM   money   every   how-ADJ   time

    zoxt   tɕi   kaxt,   lɛkin   waz   zoxt   na   tɕi
    get.INF   CAP   do.3SG.IPFV   but   1SG.NOM   get.INF   NEG   CAP

    ka=am
    do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'He can take out his money at any time, but I cannot.'

10.1.5 Disjunctive coordination

Disjunction is a type of coordination which presents alternative possibilities. In Sarikoli, disjunction is expressed by the conjunction *jo(ki)* 'or', which may be repeated to form the correlating conjunction *jo(ki)... jo(ki)...* 'either...

or...'. These conjunctions link two finite clauses together and present them as alternatives. The disjunctive conjunction in each conjunct immediately precedes the specific alternative element. If the conjuncts have different subjects which are presented as alternatives, the disjunctive conjunctions are placed at the beginning of each clause, as in (10.44) & (10.45). Likewise, if the alternatives are objects, *jo(ki)* precedes the object of each conjunct, as in (10.46), and so on. The following examples show the two clauses presenting different alternatives for the subject (10.44) & (10.45), object (10.46), verb without a shared object (10.47), verb with a shared object (10.48), polarity (10.49), or adverbial or other element (10.50), but the other elements in the sentence are usually identical in both clauses. For the sake of parsimony, the redundant elements are often omitted in the second clause, as shown by the parentheses around the omissible elements in the examples below.

(10.44) *jo   waz   naviɕ=am,   jo   amad (naviɕt)*
       or 1SG.NOM write.IPFV=1SG.IPFV or Amad write.3SG.IPFV
       'Either I will write it or Amad will.'

(10.45) *joki mu   dud   bɛlat zozd,   joki mu*
       or   1SG.NNOM uncle ticket buy.3SG.IPFV or   1SG.NNOM

       vrud   (zozd)
       brother buy.3SG.IPFV
       'Either my uncle will buy the ticket or my brother will.'

(10.46) *waz   jo   m=a=di   baron*
       1SG.NOM or CATA=ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX dress

       zoz=am,   jo   m=a=di
       buy.IPFV=1SG.IPFV or CATA=ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX

       (zoz=am)
       buy.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
       'I will buy either this dress or this one.'

(10.47) *waz   joki ktub xuj=am,   joki*
       1SG.NOM or   book read.IPFV=1SG.IPFV or

       xufs=am
       sleep.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
       'I will either read a book or sleep.'

(10.48) *maç*   *jo* *a=di*   *χor=an*   *jo*
         1PL.NOM or   ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX eat.IPFV=1PL.IPFV or

         patəw=an
         throw.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
         'We will either eat this or throw it away.'

(10.49) *waz*   *jo* *tid*   *tçi* *ka=am,*   *jo* *(tid)* *na*
         1SG.NOM or   go.INF CAP   do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV or   go.INF NEG

         (tçi *ka=am)*
         CAP   do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
         'I may be able to go, or may not be able to go.'

(10.50) *waz*   *joki* *nur*   *reewun* *so=am,*   *joki*
         1SG.NOM   or   today leave   become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV or

         pɯgan   *(rɯwun* *so=am)*
         tomorrow   leave   become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
         'I will leave either today or tomorrow.'

The disjunctive conjunction *jo(ki)* is used for both clausal and phrasal coordination, as shown in the following examples containing phrase-level coordination:

(10.51) *xjejn* *jo* *sovdz* *lɛq*   *pamɛdz=in*
         blue   or   green   clothing   wear.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
         'They wear blue or green clothes.'

(10.52) *wɛf=ir*   *tçat* *jo* *kalo*   *mas* *buz=in*
         3PL.NNOM.DIST=DAT cow   or   sheep   also   send.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
         'They also send them cows or sheep.'

The disjunctive conjunction *jo(ki)* is not used for alternative questions, which take the form of a tag question instead (§7.3.2). However, it is frequently used in interrogative complement clauses expressing a 'whether or not' relation between two clauses (§7.3.4.1), as demonstrated by the following example:

(10.53)   *wɛf-an*   *batɕo vid=i   jo(ki) na   vid=i*
          3PL.NNOM.DIST-GEN child be.INF=SC or   NEG be.INF=SC

          waz   mas na   wazon=am
          1SG.NOM also NEG know.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
          'I do not know whether they have children or not, either.'

Although used less frequently, *χu* is another disjunctive conjunction that serves
the same function as *jo(ki)*. As shown in the following examples, *χu* may be
used with first, second, or third person subjects.

(10.54)   *χu ar   χuʐmat tɛdz   χu pa   tɕɛd   ɕuv   niθ*
          or   LOC work   go.IPFV or   LOC house calm sit.IPFV
          'Either go to work or stay home and behave yourself.'

(10.55)   *χu əwqut lɛv   χu barakat az   di   ðəw*
          or   thing say.IPFV or   blessing ABL 3SG.NNOM.PROX two

          iw   surəw
          one separate.IPFV
          'Say either possessions or blessings; just choose one of these.'

(10.56)   *χu zundagi ka   χu naj   mir   hammo*
          or   life   do.IPFV or   NEG die.IPFV but

          zundagi=at=ik   tɕəwg   duruust χalg   so
          life=2SG.PFV=DUR do.PFV   whole   person become.IPFV
          'Either live or die; but if you are going to live, be a wholesome
             person.'

(10.57)   *waz   χu pa   tɕɛd niθ=am   kalo*
          1SG.NOM or   LOC house sit.IPFV=1SG.IPFV sheep

          puj=am   χu naj   amriko   xojd=ir
          herd.IPFV=1SG.IPFV or   NEG America read.INF=DAT

          tɛdz=am
          go.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
          'I will either live at home and herd sheep or go to America to
             study.'

(10.58) *çonjoz   χu pa   dars   dεðd   χu ar   buzur*
Shonyoz or LOC lesson enter.3SG.IPFV or LOC bazaar

tizd   wi   dil-nεnʤ   wazond   qilo
go.3SG.IPFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST heart-ADJ know.INF difficult

'Shonyoz will either go to class or go to the bazaar; it is difficult
to know his heart.'

10.1.6 Asyndetic coordination

Asyndetic coordination, in which a series of clauses which are conjoined through
juxtaposition rather than by means of conjunctions, is common in Sarikoli. It
is frequently used when the conjuncts have no other constituents besides the
predicate, and the interpretation is usually sequential. As with other types of
coordination, each of the conjoined clauses is finite and has its own pronom-
inal agreement clitic:

(10.59) *suut=at   jot=at=o*
become.PFV=2SG.PFV come.PFV=2SG.PFV=Q
'Did you go and come back?'

(10.60) *χug=af   jot=af=o*
eat.PFV=3PL.PFV come.PFV=3PL.PFV=Q
'Did they eat and come back?'

(10.61) *i   ʁots surəwd   zozd   tizd*
one girl separate.3SG.IPFV get.3SG.IPFV go.3SG.IPFV

a=wi   χu=ri   yin   kaxt
ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST REFL.NNOM=DAT wife do.3SG.IPFV
'He selects a girl, takes her, goes, and makes her his wife.'

10.2 Subordination

Clauses may be combined so that one clause is the main clause and the other is
dependent on the main clause, and the two clauses do not have the same gram-
matical status. In a sentence with subordination, the main clause is always
finite and the subordinate clause is often, but not always, infinitival. Three
types of subordinate clauses will be discussed in this section: relative clauses
(§10.2.1), complement clauses (§10.2.2), and adverbial clauses (§10.2.3).

10.2.1 Relative clause

Relativization involves two clauses, the relative clause (RC) and the main clause, which share a common argument. The RC modifies the common argument within the main clause (Dixon 2010b:314). Sarikoli uses two enclitic relativizers[1] for creating RC constructions, =*ɛndʑ* and =*itɕuz*, which may form either externally-headed or headless RCs; in addition, there are also unmarked RCs. Besides marking RCs, *ɛndʑ* is also used for deriving adjectivized phrases from nouns, time words, local demonstratives, and adpositional phrases (§2.3.1.6). The choice between the =*ɛndʑ* and =*itɕuz* relativizers is determined by whether the verb stem within the RC is finite or non-finite. Externally-headed RCs precede the common argument, and headless RCs occupy the slot where the common argument normally occurs. RCs do not contain pronominal agreement clitics.

10.2.1.1 RC with the =*ɛndʑ* relativizer

The relativizer =*ɛndʑ* is used with RCs that contain: 1) situations that have already been completed (10.62) - (10.65), and 2) states (10.66) & (10.67). It is the only relativizer that attaches to a finite verb stem, as it occurs with the perfect stem of verbs. It cannot attach to verbs in the imperfective or infinitive stems, as shown by the ungrammatical examples (10.68b) & (10.68c):

(10.62) *sofia mu=ri   [az amriko vəwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ] kamput*
         Sofia 1SG.NNOM=DAT ABL America bring.PRF=REL candy

         ðud
         give.PFV
         'Sofia gave me candy [that was brought from America].'

(10.63) *watɕa [waz   ləwr sɛðdʑ=ɛndʑ]   dʑuj*
         Wacha 1SG.NOM big   become.PRF=REL place
         'Wacha is the place [where I grew up].'

(10.64) *[woð   lɛvdʑ=ɛndʑ]   bejt mu=ri   utɕ*
         3PL.NOM.DIST say.PRF=REL song 1SG.NNOM=DAT very

         χuɕ
         happy
         'I really like the song [that they sang].'

---

[1]I use the term relativizer, not participle, because these morphemes are clitics that attach to an entire clause rather than suffixes that transform a verb into an adjective.

(10.65) *[nur iθtɕ = ɛndʑ]   mejmun-χejl maɕ   xejx*
today come.PRF = REL guest-PL.NOM 1PL.NNOM relative
'The guests [who came today] are our relatives.'

(10.66) *[ato   ano   na   vɛðdʑ = ɛndʑ] batɕo az   dʑam ivul*
father mother NEG be.PRF = REL child ABL all   pitiable
'[Children who do not have parents] are the most pitiable.'

(10.67) *m-ono   [mu = ri   χuɕ   vɛðdʑ = ɛndʑ]*
1SG.NNOM-mother 1SG.NNOM = DAT happy be.PRF = REL

tamoq tɕəwg
food   do.PFV
'My mother made food [that I like].'

(10.68) a. *tamaɕ   [χu   zuxtɕ = ɛndʑ] mon*
2PL.NOM REFL.NNOM buy.PRF = REL apple

χor = it
eat.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
'You(pl) eat the apples that you bought.'

b. **tamaɕ   [χu   zoz = ɛndʑ]   mon*
2PL.NOM REFL.NNOM buy.IPFV = REL apple

χor = it
eat.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
'You(pl) eat the apples that you bought.'

c. **tamaɕ   [χu   zoxt = ɛndʑ]   mon*
2PL.NOM REFL.NNOM buy.INF = REL apple

χor = it
eat.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
'You(pl) eat the apples that you bought.'

10.2.1.2 RC with the = *itɕuz* relativizer

The relativizer = *itɕuz* attaches to the infinitive stem and is not inflected for aspect, but aspect is inferred based on the matrix clause situation and context. This includes: 1) ongoing events with present time reference (10.69) - (10.73), including habituals; 2) future events (10.74) & (10.75a); and 3) agentives, as shown in Table 10.2. = *itɕuz* cannot attach to a finite verb, as demonstrated

by the ungrammatical examples (10.75b) & (10.75c). Without the specific time reference words, the RCs in (10.69), (10.70), (10.74), and (10.75a) can be interpreted as having either present or future time reference.

(10.69) *[woð   çitç   tçixt = itçuz]   kinu   waz*
        3PL.NOM.DIST now watch.INF = REL movie 1SG.NOM

        tçuxtç = εndʑ
        watch.PRF = REL
        'The movie [they are watching right now] is one I have watched.'

(10.70) *[zulfiço   çitç   lεvd = itçuz]   bejt   wi   vrud*
        Zeelfisho now say.INF = REL song 3SG.NNOM.DIST brother

        naviçtç = εndʑ
        write.PRF = REL
        'The song [Zeelfisho is singing right now] is one written by his brother.'

(10.71) *tung [nuç   az   dʑam pur   pεxt = itçuz]   dijur*
        Teeng apricot ABL all   much ripen.INF = REL region
        'Teeng is the region [that grows the most apricots].'

(10.72) *jad   [m-oto   hara   maθ broxt = itçuz]*
        3SG.NOM.PROX 1SG.NNOM-father every day   drink.INF = REL

        duri
        medicine
        'This is medicine [which my father drinks every day].'

(10.73) *[mu   jaχ   χuzmat tçejg = itçuz]   dʑuj   utç   ðar*
        1SG.NNOM sister work   do.INF = REL   place very far
        'The place [where my sister works] is very far.'

(10.74) *[sulir   lεvd = itçuz]   bejt = an   maçq   tçəwg*
        next.year say.INF = REL song = 1PL.PFV training do.PFV
        'We practiced the song [that will be sung next year].'

(10.75) a. *[puɡan   xwor   tid = itɕuz]   batɕo-χejl = af*
              tomorrow Kashgar go.INF = REL   child-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV

              aftovuz bɛlat   zuxt
              bus   ticket buy.PFV
              'The children [who are going to Kashgar tomorrow] have
              bought their bus tickets.'

         b. *[puɡan   xwor   tɛdʑ = itɕuz]   batɕo-χejl = af*
              tomorrow Kashgar go.IPFV = REL   child-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV

              aftovuz bɛlat   zuxt
              bus   ticket buy.PFV
              'The children [who are going to Kashgar tomorrow] have
              bought their bus tickets.'

         c. *[puɡan   xwor   tujdʑ = itɕuz] batɕo-χejl = af*
              tomorrow Kashgar go.PRF = REL   child-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV

              aftovuz bɛlat   zuxt
              bus   ticket buy.PFV
              'The children [who are going to Kashgar tomorrow] have
              bought their bus tickets.'

Table 10.2 Examples of agentives with *= itɕuz*

wazawond = itɕuz 'eraser'	*bejt lɛvd = itɕuz* 'singer'
tamoq tɕejg = itɕuz 'cook'	*rasim tiʑd = itɕuz* 'artist'
para ðod = itɕuz 'seller'	*intsivd = itɕuz* 'sewer'
talipt = itɕuz 'beggar'	*ðɛxt = itɕuz* 'sprinkler'
kəwd = itɕuz 'digger'	*zdig = itɕuz* 'wiper'
moɕin dɛt = itɕuz 'driver'	*kalo pojd = itɕuz* 'sheep herder'
batɕo tɕixt = itɕuz 'one that watches children'	*woxt = itɕuz* 'one that falls (epileptic)'

10.2.1.3 Headless RC

Expression of the common argument is not required. The common argument
may be omitted if it can be understood from the situational context in which
the utterance occurs. Headless RCs may be formed with both *= ɛndʑ*, as in
(10.76) - (10.79), and *= itɕuz*, as in (10.80) - (10.83). Headless RCs most

commonly occur as the copula complement argument, but also occupy other argument and non-argument slots as well. In the following examples, the RC modifies the implicit S argument in (10.76), O argument in (10.80), copula subject in (10.77) & (10.81), and copula complement in (10.78), (10.79), (10.82), and (10.83).

(10.76) *[məwɣdʑ = ɛndʑ]*   *tik*   *tɕi*   *pɛð*   *səwd*   *zundo*
       die.PRF = REL   straight   LOC   foot   become.3SG.IPFV   live

       səwd
       become.3SG.IPFV
       'The one [who had died] stands up straight on his feet and becomes alive.'

(10.77) *[muu = ri*   *az*   *dʑam* *puur*   *χumand* *tɕəwɣdʑ = ɛndʑ]*
       1SG.NNOM = REL   ABL   all   much   learn   do.PRF = REL

       jad   *malum*
       3SG.NOM.PROX   teacher
       'The (one) [who has taught me the most] is this teacher.'

(10.78) *m-oto*   *m-ono*   *vɛrθ*   *[tuuznɛf*   *ləwr*
       1SG.NNOM-father   1SG.NNOM-mother   both   Teeznef   big

       sɛðdʑ = ɛndʑ]
       become.PRF = REL
       'My father and mother are both (ones) [who grew up in Teeznef].'

(10.79) *jad*   *hansuu* *əwrat*   *[pa*   *varɕidɛ*   *haroj*   *sul*
       3SG.NOM.PROX   Han   woman   LOC   Varshide   three   year

       naluuɕtɕ = ɛndʑ]
       live.PRF = REL
       'This Han woman is (one) [who has lived in Varshide for three years].'

(10.80) *doð = af*   *a = [rasim*   *zoxt = itɕuz]*   *qiw*   *na*
       3PL.NOM.PROX = 3PL.PFV   ACC = picture   get.INF = REL   call   NEG

       tɕəwɣdʑ
       do.PRF
       'These people did not call the one [who takes pictures]. (Evidentiality/New information)'

(10.81) *[waz   az   dʐam pʉr   tɕejg = itɕuz] paləw*
         1SG.NOM ABL all   much do.INF = REL pilaf
         '(What) [I make the most] is pilaf.'

(10.82) *maɕ   [χu   ðust qati   χig = itɕuz]*
         1SG.NOM REFL.NNOM hand COM eat.INF = REL
         'We are (ones) [who eat with our hands].'

(10.83) *zejnura   [tar jəwl   xɛvd broxt = itɕuz]*
         Zeynura LOC dawn milk   drink.INF = REL
         'Zeynura is (one) [who drinks milk in the morning].'

10.2.1.4 Unmarked RC

RCs may be completely unmarked, with no relativizer indicating that a clause is modifying a noun. In this type of RC, an infinitive clause simply precedes the head noun, as shown in the following examples. This type of unmarked RC is not very common in Sarikoli.

(10.84) *waz = am   [hawu   ðod]   awudʐ na*
         1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV precipitation fall.INF sound NEG

         xuud
         hear.PFV
         'I did not hear the sound [of rain falling].'

(10.85) *ɕanbɛ   jakɕanbɛ [dam zoxt]   maθ*
         Saturday Sunday   rest   get.INF day
         'Saturday and Sunday are days [of rest].'

Negative RCs with = ɛndʐ, or = ɛndʐ RCs within another subordinated clause, may optionally omit the relativizer, with no change in meaning. These are structurally similar to infinitival unmarked RCs, but either contain negated verbs in the perfect stem, as in (10.86) - (10.90) below, or occur in another subordinate clause, as in (10.131b), (10.132b), and (10.133b) presented in §10.2.3.1.

(10.86) *nur = am   [na xɛðdʐ] i   gap   xuud*
         today = 1SG.PFV NEG hear.PRF one word hear.PFV
         'Today I heard something [I had not heard before].'

(10.87) *nur=af*   *[na   χuɣdʐ] tamoq χug*
         today=3PL.PFV   NEG eat.PRF food   eat.PFV
         'Today they ate food [that they had not tried before].'

(10.88) *[makola na   naviçtç]   batço-χejl   intawɯm*
         essay   NEG   write.PRF child-PL.NOM exam

         ðo=in
         give.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
         'Students [who have not written essays] take exams.'

(10.89) *xɛb   maç   [tej   na   tçəwɣdʐ]*
         yesterday 1PL.NOM wedding NEG do.PRF

         batço-χejl=an   qati   tamoq χug
         child-PL.NOM=1PL.PFV together food   eat.PFV
         'Yesterday, those of us [who are not married] ate a meal together.'

(10.90) *m-ono   a=wi   rasim*
         1SG.NNOM-mother ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST picture

         χu-an   [ðɛs sul   na   wandʐ] hamru=ri
         REFL.NNOM-GEN ten   year NEG see.PRF companion=DAT

         vuusond
         show.PFV
         'My mother showed that picture to her friend [whom she has not
         seen for ten years].'

RCs with positive polarity that are not embedded in another subordinate clause
may not omit the =ɛndʐ, as shown by the ungrammatical examples (10.91) &
(10.92).

(10.91) **sofia mu=ri   [az   amriko   vəwɣdʐ]   kampuut*
         Sofia   1SG.NNOM=DAT ABL America bring.PRF candy

         ðud
         give.PFV
         'Sofia gave me candy [that was brought from America].'

(10.92) **[woð   lɛvdʐ   bejt] mu=ri   uutç χuuç*
         3PL.NOM say.PRF song 1SG.NNOM=DAT very happy
         'I really like the song [they sang].'

10.2.2 Complement clause

A complement clause (CC) is a proposition that functions as an argument of another proposition. Dixon (2006) proposes three basic properties of CCs: 1) having the internal constituent structure of a clause; 2) functioning as a core argument of a higher clause; and 3) describing a proposition, containing someone involved in an activity or state.

Sarikoli has at least two CC constructions which fulfill all three of these requirements, both of which are used for reported speech and have the most structural similarity to a main clause. The other two constructions are non-finite complements with more limited grammatical marking. Nevertheless, their internal constituent structure does resemble that of a clause to some extent, and they do fulfill the latter two properties.

This section introduces two regular CC constructions: the nominalized complement with a subordinating conjunction (§10.2.2.1) and the infinitival complement (§10.2.2.2). Both constructions function as a core argument of a higher clause, and occur in the normal syntactic position of whichever argument they function as. In addition, two CC constructions used for reported speech will be presented (§10.2.2.3): the preverbal finite complement, used only for reporting speech, and the post-verbal finite complement with a subordinating conjunction, most often used for reporting speech, but also used as other CCs as well.

10.2.2.1 The nominalized complement

Sarikoli uses what Dixon describes as nominalization as a complementation strategy: "a process by which something with the properties of a nominal can be derived from a verb or adjective, or from a complete clause" (2006:36). Verbs that take nominalized complements include: verbs of attention (*wand* 'see', *xid* 'hear', *vuusond* 'show'), verbs of thinking (*wazond* 'know', *famd* 'understand', *uj tɕejg* 'think', *iɕandʑ tɕejg* 'believe', *ranixt* 'forget', *tar χuðm wand* 'dream about'), and verbs of speaking (*lɛvd* 'say, tell'). The subordinating conjunction =*i* plays a role similar to that of a complementizer. It attaches to a verb in the infinitive stem and makes it an argument of the main clause. The other component of this complementation strategy is the genitive marker -*an*, which attaches to the subject of the nominalized complement, structurally marking the subject of the embedded clause as a possessor of an NP. Since the embedded clause is nominalized, the entire embedded clause after the possessor-marked subject becomes the possessed item. This nominalized complement functions as a regular argument of the predicate of the main clause,

as with NPs. It does not carry any aspectual information, using time words to specify time reference when necessary, as in (10.95) & (10.96).

(10.93)   *sejfik   <gulpia-an   wi   tej   tɕejg=i>*
           Seyfik   Geelpia-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST wedding do.INF=SC

           wazond
           know.3SG.IPFV
           'Seyfik knows about <Geelpia's getting married>.'

(10.94)   *malum-χejl=af   <batɕo-ɛf-an   a=imi*
           teacher-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV child-PL.NNOM-GEN ACC=RECP

           ðod=i>   wand
           hit.INF=SC see.PFV
           'The teachers saw <the children's hitting each other>.'

(10.95)   *waz   <tamaɕ-an   xɛb   tsejz   χig=i>*
           1SG.NOM   2PL.NNOM-GEN yesterday what   eat.INF=SC

           wazon=am
           know.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
           'I know <what you(pl) ate yesterday>.'

(10.96)   *waz   <tamaɕ-an   puɡan   kudʐur tid=i>*
           1SG.NOM   2PL.NNOM-GEN tomorrow where   go.INF=SC

           wazon=am
           know.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
           'I know <where you(pl) will go tomorrow>.'

(10.97)   *putxu   <χu   radzɛn-an   wi   marg=i>*
           king   REFL.NNOM daughter-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST die.INF=SC

           xud
           hear.PFV
           'The king heard about <his daughter's dying>.'

10.2.2.2 Infinitival complement

The infinitival complement is formed with an infinitive verb stem and no agreement clitics. It does not contain an explicit subject, and the embedded

clause is interpreted as having one of the main clause arguments as its subject. It functions as an argument of the predicate of the main clause. Verbs that take infinitival complements include: liking verbs (*tɕimbd* 'be willing to', *χuɕ vid* 'be pleasing to (like)', *dil...vid* 'heart be (desire to)', *pixmun tɕejg* 'regret', *xudʑ ðord* 'fear') and certain speaking verbs (*qasam tɕejg* 'swear, promise', *ramud* 'cause, order', *latɕejg* 'let, allow').

(10.98) *aqlia   <kalo guxt χig>   na   tɕombd*
Aqlia sheep meat eat.INF NEG be.willing.3SG.IPFV
'Aqlia is not willing to eat mutton.'

(10.99) *waz   χu   jaχ=ir   <ɕejdoi intsivd>*
1SG.NOM REFL.NNOM sister=DAT Sheydoi sew.INF

ramej=am
cause.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I will cause my sister <to embroider a Sheydoi (female cap)>.'

(10.100) *m-oto   a=mu   <bejt lɛvd>   na*
1SG.NNOM-father ACC=1SG.NNOM song   say.INF NEG

lakaxt
let.3SG.IPFV
'My father does not allow me <to sing songs>.'

(10.101) *<tar vatɕ   skit tɕejg> wi=ri   χuɕ*
LOC   outside play do.INF 3SG.NNOM.DIST=DAT happy
'He likes <playing outside>.' (lit. <Playing outside> is pleasing to him.)

(10.102) *qandik dil   <χu   patiɕ-ɛf   qati pa buzur*
Qandik heart REFL.NNOM cousin-PL.NNOM COM LOC bazaar

tid>
go.INF
'Qandik wants <to go to the bazaar with her cousins>.'

(10.103) *<maθ paqad   ktub xojd>   a=χalg   aluk*
day   whole.duration book read.INF ACC=person tired

kaxt
do.3SG.IPFV
'<Reading books all day> makes a person tired.'

10.2.2.3 Reported speech

Most reported speech in Sarikoli takes the form of a direct quotation, described in this section, or hearsay, which is treated in §12. Sarikoli has two CC constructions for reporting direct speech. The first is a preverbal finite CC construction embedded in the main verb *lɛvd* 'say, tell' in the imperfective stem. In addition, the durative clitic *=ik* is attached to some element before the verb, either preceding or following the direct quotation. (10.104) - (10.106) exemplify this way of quoting direct speech. Sometimes the meaning of *lɛvd* may be extended to cover 'think', as in (10.105).

(10.104) *<tamaɕ   awal   tɛdz=it,   waz   maður zabu*
          2PL.NOM first   go.IPFV=2PL.IPFV 1SG.NOM noon   back

           tɛdz=am>=ik   lɛvd
           go.IPFV=1SG.IPFV=DUR say.3SG.IPFV
          'S/he is saying, "You(pl) go ahead, I will go in the afternoon".'

(10.105) *waz=ik   <nur tɕorɕambɛ> lɛv=am*
          1SG.NOM=DUR today Wednesday   say.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
          'I thought, "Today is Wednesday".' (lit. I am saying, "Today is Wednesday".)

(10.106) *<pa tɕɛd   dið=it>=ik   lɛv=in*
          LOC   house enter.IPFV=2PL.IPFV=DUR say.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
          'They are saying, "Come into our home".'

This construction may also be used in an interrogative sentence. If someone yells "Don't!" but it is unclear who the intended addressee was, one might ask the speaker the question in (10.107). The quoted material may also be replaced by an interrogative word, as in (10.108); although it is not an example of reporting direct speech, it shows how this preverbal finite CC construction is often used. This sentence may be used in a situation like the following: a prince sends a message to his lover through a messenger and awaits a response. As soon as the messenger returns, he asks him the question in (10.108).

(10.107) *təw   tɕi=ri=ik   <mo> lɛv*
          2SG.NOM who.NNOM=DAT=DUR PROH   say.IPFV
          'To whom are you saying "Don't"?'

(10.108) *tsejz=ik   lɛvd*
          what=DUR say.3SG.IPFV
          'What is she saying?'

The second construction for reporting direct speech is a post-verbal finite CC, which is used for reporting direct speech as well as other perceptions. In this construction, the quoted material is placed after the verb in the main clause and introduced by the subordinating conjunction *iko*. *iko* belongs to the main clause and not the embedded clause. The verb in the main clause is not restricted to *lɛvd*, and may be another verb of speech, perception, thought, dreaming, etc., as shown in (10.109) - (10.114).

(10.109) *baχtigul* *muɯ=ri* *lɛvd* *iko* *<nur*
      Bahtigeel 1SG.NNOM=DAT say.PFV COMP today

      muɯ-an *digar* *tɕɛr* *jost>*
      1SG.NNOM-GEN other work be.IPFV
      'Bahtigeel told me <I have other things to do today>.'

(10.110) *xuɯd=am* *iko* *<tursun* *ar* *wi*
      hear.PFV=1SG.PFV COMP Tursun LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST

      afto *χu* *tej* *kaxt>*
      week REFL.NNOM wedding do.3SG.IPFV
      'I heard <Tursun will get married next week>.'

(10.111) *ar* *ujnak* *tɕost* *iko* *wi* *vrud* *i*
      LOC glass look.3SG.IPFV COMP 3SG.NNOM.DIST brother one

      dʑuj=ik *ʁarst* *wi* *tɕi* *ðust*
      place=DUR turn.3SG.IPFV 3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC hand

      k=juɯ *dʑom*
      ANA=3SG.NOM.DIST scoop
      'He looks into the mirror and sees <his brother is going around in a place with that scoop in his hand>.'

(10.112) *waʑ=am* *χuðm* *wand* *iko* *<maɕ=an*
      1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV dream see.PFV COMP 1PL.NOM=1PL.PFV

      ar *anglia* *sajoat=ir* *tuɯjdʑ>*
      LOC England travel=DAT go.PRF
      'I dreamed <we traveled to England (Evidentiality/New information)>.'

(10.113) *faridun   qasam tɕəwg   iko   <χu   radzɛn*
Faridun oath   do.PFV COMP REFL.NNOM daughter

 tu̶=ri   ðo=am>
 2SG.NNOM=DAT give.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'Faridun swore <I will give you my daughter>.'

(10.114) *rajon   uj   tɕəwg   iko   <χu   batɕo-ɛf=ir*
Rayon think do.PFV COMP REFL.NNOM child-PL.NNOM=DAT

 ɕejdoi   intsov=am>
 Sheydoi sew.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'Rayon thought <I will sew Sheydois (female cap) for my children>.'

iko may also, especially in narratives, occur with other types of main verb, followed by the embedded clause containing that which is perceived after the main verb, as in (10.115) - (10.119).

(10.115) *woð   naxtɛdz=in   iko   spejd vurdʑ=ik*
3PL.NOM.DIST go.up.IPFV=3PL.IPFV COMP white horse=DUR

 tasin   ðid
 neighing give.3SG.IPFV
'They go out (and find that) <a white horse is neighing>.'

(10.116) *ju   dɛðd   iko   wi   ɣin*
3SG.NOM.DIST enter.3SG.IPFV COMP 3SG.NNOM.DIST wife

 ar   qɛtɕ   i   χalg   aludʑ
 LOC stomach one person lie.PRF
'He enters (and finds that) <there is a person lying next to his wife>. (Evidentiality/New information)'

(10.117) *ar   wi   dinju   so=am   iko*
LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST world become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV COMP

 m-oto   mas vɛðdʑ m-ono   mas
 1SG.NNOM-father also be.PRF 1SG.NNOM-mother also

 vɛðdʑ
 be.PRF
'I go to that other world (and find that) <my father is there, and my mother is also there>. (Evidentiality/New information)'

(10.118) *tar*   *jəwl*   *indɛzd*   *iko*   *di*   *tar*
          LOC   dawn   get.up.3SG.IPFV   COMP   3SG.NNOM.PROX   LOC

            tuɕ   *uz*   *i*   *tup*   *tɕudir*   *woɕtɕ*
            straight   again   one   group   tent   be.PRF

            'He gets up in the morning (and finds that) <there is another group of tents straight ahead of him>. (Evidentiality/New information)'

(10.119) *k=dos*   *k=tar*   *wi*   *χadurdʑ*
          ANA=manner   ANA=LOC   3SG.NNOM.DIST   mill

            dið=am   *iko*   *mu*   *ɣin*
            enter.IPFV=1SG.IPFV   COMP   1SG.NNOM   wife

            ki=wi   *χadurdʑtɕi*   *qati*   *skit=ik*
            ANA=3SG.NNOM.DIST   miller   COM   play=DUR

            kaxt
            do.3SG.IPFV

            'I enter the mill like that (and find that) <my wife is playing with that miller>.'

In this construction, the verb *lɛvd* frequently occurs in the imperfective aspect with a first person subject, which usually yields the meaning 'think', as in (10.120) & (10.121).

(10.120) *waz=ik*   *lɛv=am*   *iko*   <*nur*   *sejɕambɛ*>
          1SG.NOM=DUR   say.IPFV=1SG.IPFV   SC   today   Tuesday

            'I thought <today is Wednesday>.'

(10.121) *waz=ik*   *lɛv=am*   *iko*   <*zulfia*   *tɕur*
          1SG.NOM=DUR   say.IPFV=1SG.IPFV   SC   Zeelfia   husband

            watɕejdʑ   *vɛðdʑ*>
            Wacha.person   be.PRF

            'I thought <Zeelfia's husband is from Wacha (Evidentiality/New information)>.'

In addition to marking the post-verbal CC construction, the subordinating conjunction *iko* may also be used with the negator *naj* to yield the interpretation 'otherwise', as illustrated by (10.122) - (10.124).

(10.122) *i   səwg maɕ=ir   lɛv,   naj iko   maɕ*
          one story 1PL.NNOM=DAT say.IPFV NEG COMP 1PL.NOM

          ʐuq   so=an
          bored become.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
          'Tell us a story, otherwise we will get bored.'

(10.123) *tamaɕ   χu   ato   ziv   lɛv=it,   naj*
          2PL.NOM REFL.NNOM father tongue say.IPFV=2PL.IPFV NEG

          iko   tamaɕ   ziv   bast
          COMP 2PL.NNOM tongue disappear.3SG.IPFV
          'Speak your(pl) native language, otherwise your language will disappear.'

(10.124) *a=di   dʑald pa   duχturχuno jus,   naj*
          ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX fast   LOC hospital   take.IPFV NEG

          iko   di   kasal   garun səwd
          COMP 3SG.NNOM.PROX illness heavy become.3SG.IPFV
          'Take her to the hospital quickly, otherwise her illness will get serious.'

iko is also used in certain exclamations. The manner word *dos* occurs at the beginning of the exclamation, followed by an adjective and optionally also a verb, followed by *iko*, as exemplified in (10.125) & (10.126).

(10.125) *dos   ʐurm iko*
          manner warm COMP
          'It is so hot!'

(10.126) *dos   χuɕruj   xuvdʑ   iko*
          manner beautiful sleep.PRF COMP
          'She has fallen asleep so soundly! (Evidentiality/New information)'

10.2.3 Adverbial clause

Adverbial clauses (ACs) function as modifiers of verb phrases or entire clauses. In this section, ten types of Sarikoli ACs, or those functioning as ACs without having genuine AC constructions, will be introduced. They are presented in the following order: 1) finite ACs, 2) infinitival ACs with function markers,

and 3) RC constructions, which are not genuine adverbial subordinations. Table 10.3 presents the types of ACs that will be covered in the subsections that follow, along with their structural markings and section references.

Table 10.3 Adverbial clauses

AC types	Verb type	Marker(s)	Reference
Condition	IPFV	*tsa*	§10.2.3.1
Concession	IPFV	*mas tsa*	§10.2.3.2
Counterfactual	pluperfect	*tsa* + *=ik*	§10.2.3.3
Explanatory reason	INF	*az* + *=i*	§10.2.3.4
Suppositional reason	INF	*mazamun*	§10.2.3.5
Purpose	INF	*=ir*; *avon*	§10.2.3.6
Means/simultaneity	INF	*qati*	§10.2.3.7
Time	PFV	*=ik*	§10.2.3.8
	INF (RC)	*alo/waχt*	
Location	PRF/INF (RC)	*=ɛndʑ/=itɕuz* + *dʑuj*	§10.2.3.9
Manner	PRF (RC)	*=ɛndʑ* + *rang*	§10.2.3.10

Thompson & Longacre & Huang (2007) list three devices that are typically used for indicating ACs: subordinating morphemes, special verb forms, and word order. Sarikoli uses various subordinating morphemes for marking ACs, as shown in the third column of Table 10.3. Most of these subordinating morphemes are clause-final, occurring at the end of the AC, although some of them are placed immediately before the verb in the AC.

Most Sarikoli ACs are also marked with special verb forms, as they are marked with the infinitive stem of the verb and a lack of subject-verb agreement clitics. Only conditional, concessive, and counterfactual ACs and one variety of temporal AC contain finite verb stems and agreement clitics.

Finally, Sarikoli ACs may also be recognized, to some extent, by their position. They usually precede the entire main clause or immediately follow the subject of the main clause, as with other adverbial modifiers (§6).

10.2.3.1 Condition

The conditional AC is formed by placing the conditional particle *tsa* either before or after the predicate of the protasis.[2]   *agar* 'if' may optionally be

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[2]Another usage of *tsa* is as a variant of the interrogative word *tsejz* 'what' (see §7.3.4).

added to the beginning of the protasis. Conditional ACs, along with concessive ACs (§10.2.3.2), counterfactual ACs (§10.2.3.3), and one type of temporal AC (§10.2.3.8), are unique among the Sarikoli ACs in that they are finite; even though they are dependent clauses, they take finite verbs as well as pronominal agreement clitics, as shown in (10.127) & (10.128).

(10.127) *tu=ri*   *i*   *tsiz*   *luzim*   *tsa*
          2SG.NNOM=DAT one thing necessary COND

          səwd   *uʐ*   *joð*
          become.3SG.IPFV again come.IPFV
          'Come again if you need something.'

(10.128) *ɕitɕ*   *tung*   *tɛdʐ=in*   *tsa*   *pond* *utɕ*   *qilo*
          now   Teeng go.IPFV=3PL.IPFV COND road very difficult
          'If they go to Teeng now the roads are very bad.'

When the embedded clause is an existential clause with *jost* or *nist*, as in (10.129), or when the embedded clause is a *vid* copula clause, as in (10.130), the copula *vid* 'be' within the conditional AC occurs in the embedded imperfective stem.

(10.129) *mon*   *tsa*   *vid*   *mu=ri*   *i*   *tol* *vor*
          apple COND be.3SG.IPFV 1SG.NNOM=DAT one CL bring.IPFV
          'If there are apples, bring me one.' OR 'If they are apples, bring me one'.

(10.130) *ɕtu*   *tsa*   *vid*   *mo*   *broz*
          cold COND be.3SG.IPFV PROH drink.IPFV
          'Do not drink it if it is cold.'

The conditional AC cannot take the perfective stem of the verb, as shown by the ungrammatical examples (10.131a), (10.132a), and (10.133a). Perfective situations are further embedded in an RC with the *=ɛndʐ* relativizer, which may be shortened into an unmarked RC, followed by *tsa* and the imperfective form of *vid* 'be', as in (10.131b), (10.132b), and (10.133b):

(10.131) a. **wejrun* *tsa*   *sut*   *mu=ri*   *vor*
              broken   COND become.PFV 1SG.NNOM=DAT bring.IPFV
              'If it broke, bring it to me.'

b. *wejɾun   sɛðdʑ(=ɛndʑ)   tsa   vid*
broken   become.PRF=REL   COND   be.3SG.IPFV

   mu=ri   vor
   1SG.NNOM=DAT   bring.IPFV
'If it is broken, bring it to me.'

(10.132) a. **tamoq=at   na   χug   tsa   maɕ   qati*
food=2SG.PFV   NEG   eat.PFV   COND   1PL.NNOM   COM

   χor
   eat.IPFV
'If you have not eaten, eat with us.'

b. *tamoq   na   χuɣdʑ(=ɛndʑ) tsa   vəw   maɕ*
food   NEG   eat.PRF=REL   COND   be.IPFV   1PL.NNOM

   qati   χor
   COM   eat.IPFV
'If you have not eaten, eat with us.'

(10.133) a. **woð=af   tujd   tsa   digar moɕin qati*
3PL.NOM.DIST=3PL.PFV   go.PFV   COND   other car   COM

   tɛdz
   go.IPFV
'If they left, take another car.'

b. *woð   tujdʑ(=ɛndʑ) tsa   vəw=in*
3PL.NOM.DIST   go.PRF=REL   COND   be.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

   digar moɕin qati   tɛdz
   other car   COM   go.IPFV
'If they left, take another car.'

Optionally, an additional conditional particle *u* may be used after the verb and
tsa, but it is used very infrequently. The following are examples that contain
u in the conditional AC.

(10.134) *ar   ujnak agar m=k=dos   tɕost   tsa*
          LOC   glass   if   CATA=ANA=manner look.3SG.IPFV COND

          u   puutun a=dʑawun   jad   k=ar
          COND   all   ACC=world 3SG.NOM.PROX   ANA=LOC

          wi   wand
          3SG.NNOM.DIST   see.3SG.IPFV

          'If he looks into the mirror like this, he sees the whole world in it.'

(10.135) *waz   χu   pa   dʑom   a=xats   iw*
          1SG.NOM   REFL.NNOM   LOC   scoop ACC=water   one

          zoz=am   məɣdʑ=ɛndʑ   ar   ʁov
          get.IPFV=1SG.IPFV   die.PRF=REL   LOC   mouth

          wejð=am   tsa   u   zuundo jad
          pour.IPFV=1SG.IPFV COND   COND   live   3SG.NOM.PROX

          səwd
          become.3SG.IPFV

          'If I get water into my scoop and pour it into a dead person's mouth, he becomes alive.'

(10.136) *naj   putχu-an   wi   ɣin   tsa   vid*
          NEG   king-GEN   3SG.NNOM.DIST   wife COND   be.3SG.IPFV

          u   təw   k=az   di   ʁots-ɛf
          COND   2SG.NOM   ANA=ABL   3SG.NNOM.PROX   girl-PL.NNOM

          surəw   a=iw   zoz   tɛdz   di
          separate.IPFV ACC=one   get.IPFV   go.IPFV   3SG.NNOM.PROX

          putχu=ri
          king=DAT

          'If this is the king's wife, pick one girl from among these and take her to this king.'

10.2.3.2 Concession

The concessive AC is a type of conditional AC and also uses *tsa*, but *tsa* is preceded by the particle *mas* 'also'. *mas* and *tsa* may precede or follow the

finite verb, forming the literal meaning, 'If it is also that....' The finite verb is in the imperfective stem and co-occurs with the appropriate pronominal clitic.

(10.137) *m-oto*　　　　　*a = mu*　　　　*rond*　　　*mas tsa*
　　　　　1SG.NNOM-father　ACC = 1SG.NNOM scold.3SG.IPFV also COND

　　　　　mejli
　　　　　okay
　　　　　'It's okay even if my father scolds me.'

(10.138) *təw*　　　*mujim*　　　*waz*　　　*marzundʑ*　*mas tsa*
　　　　　2SG.NOM important 1SG.NOM hungry　　also COND

　　　　　ris = am　　　　　　　*mejli*
　　　　　remain.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV okay
　　　　　'You are important; it's okay even if I starve.'

(10.139) *wi*　　　　　　*pɛð*　*ðizd*　　　　*mas tsa*
　　　　　3SG.NNOM.DIST foot hurt.3SG.IPFV also COND

　　　　　wi　　　　　　*dil*　　*χu*　　　　*dɛst-ɛf*　　　*qati*
　　　　　3SG.NNOM.DIST heart REFL.NNOM friend-PL.NNOM COM

　　　　　tup skit tɕejg
　　　　　ball play do.INF
　　　　　'Even though his foot hurts, he wants to play ball with his friends.'

(10.140) *dɛðd*　　　　*mas tsa*　　*ɕəwgunbahor*　*muburak*
　　　　　enter.3SG.IPFV also COND Sheawgeenbahor congratulations

　　　　　lɛvd　　　　*dɛðd*
　　　　　say.3SG.IPFV enter.3SG.IPFV
　　　　　'Even when he enters, he says "Happy Sheawgeenbahor" and enters.'

(10.141) *um*　　*xani-χejl*　　*tɛdz = in*　　　　*mas tsa*　　*xabor*
　　　　　there groom-PL.NOM go.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV also COND sleepover

　　　　　rejd = itɕuz　　　　*dʑuj-χejl*　　　*jost*
　　　　　remain.INF = REL place-PL.NOM be.IPFV
　　　　　'Even when the groom party goes there, there are places to stay overnight.'

(10.142)   *tamaɕ*   *əwd-ik*   *skit* *mas* *tsa*   *ka=it*
             2PL.NOM here-DIM play also COND do.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV

               səwd   *hammo* *tɕɛk*   *ar* *darun*
               become.3SG.IPFV but   boundary LOC inside

               ka=it
               do.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
               'It's okay even if you(pl) play here, but play inside the boundaries.'

It is very common for an RC to be embedded within the concessive clause, in which case the finite verb of the AC is the imperfective stem of *vid* 'be', as shown in (10.143) - (10.148).

(10.143)   *duvɛz* *lɛq*   *paməwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ* *mas* *tsa*
             thick   clothing wear.PRF = REL   also COND

               vəw=am   *iɕ=am*   *tɕəwg*
               be.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV cold = 1SG.PFV do.PFV
               'Even though I am wearing thick clothes, I am cold.' (lit. Even though I am one who has put on thick clothes, I am cold.)

(10.144)   *woð*   *ðɛs* *sul* *tar* *prud* *tej*   *tɕəwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ*
             3PL.NOM.DIST ten year LOC front wedding do.PRF = REL

               mas *tsa*   *vəw=in*   *ɕitɕ* *its*
               also COND be.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV now until

               wɛf-an   *batɕo* *nist*
               3PL.NNOM.DIST-GEN child NEG.be.IPFV
               'Even though they got married ten years ago, they have no child until now.' (lit. Even though they are ones who have gotten married ten years ago, they have no child until now.)

(10.145) *waz*   *bɛdʑin*   *ajoɣ*   *zoxt＝itɕuz*   *mas* *tsa*
           1SG.NOM Beijing shoes buy.INF＝REL   also COND

        vəw＝am   *uz*   *iw*   *mas* *uz*
        be.IPFV＝1SG.IPFV again one also again

        zoʑ＝am
        buy.IPFV＝1SG.IPFV

'Even though I will buy shoes in Beijing, I will buy a another one now.' (lit. Even though I am one who will buy shoes in Beijing, I will buy another one now.)

(10.146) *hitɕ*   *tsaʁa* *na*   *sɛðdʑ*   *mas* *tsa*   *vəw＝in*
           none how   NEG become.PRF   also COND be.IPFV＝3PL.IPFV

        hammo *ɯtɕ*   *xudʑ＝af*   *ðəwg*
        but   very fright＝3PL.PFV scare.PFV

'Even though they were fine, they were very frightened.' (lit. Even though they are ones who have not become in any way, they were very frightened.)

(10.147) *ɯtɕ*   *pur*   *xojdʑ*   *mas* *tsa*   *vəw＝it*   *hammo*
           very much read.PRF also COND be.IPFV＝2PL.IPFV but

        akram *duð*   *pur*   *ziv*   *na*   *wazon＝it*
        Akram AMT much tongue NEG know.IPFV＝2PL.IPFV

'Even though you(pl) are very well educated, you do not know as many languages as Akram does.' (lit. Even though you(pl) are ones who have read much, you do not know as many languages as Akram does.)

(10.148) *waz*   *ɯtɕ*   *pur*   *gap*   *tajur*   *tɕəwydʑ* *mas* *tsa*
           1SG.NOM very much word ready do.PRF   also COND

        vəw＝am,   *hammo* *pɛt＝am*   *ranɯxt*
        be.IPFV＝1SG.IPFV but   all＝1SG.IPFV forget.PFV

'Even though I prepared so much to say, I forgot everything.' (lit. Even though I am one who has prepared many words, I forgot everything.)

Since the concessive AC is a conditional clause, *vid* occurs in the embedded imperfective stem when the embedded clause is a copula clause, as in (10.149) - (10.152), or when the embedded clause is an existential clause, as in (10.153).

(10.149) *ju*　　　　　*ingum*　　*tamoq* *χuɣd͡ʑ*　*mas* *tsa*
　　　　　3SG.NOM.DIST just.now food　　eat.PRF　also COND

　　　　　vid　　　　*uz*　　*marzund͡ʑ*
　　　　　be.3SG.IPFV again　hungry
　　　　　'Even though he just ate food, he is hungry again.' (lit. Even
　　　　　though he is one who has just eaten food, he is hungry again.)

(10.150) *sofia* *d͡ʐojza* *zuxt͡ɕ*　*mas* *tsa*　*vid*　　　　*ju*
　　　　　Sofia　prize　get.PRF　also COND　be.3SG.IPFV 3SG.NOM.DIST

　　　　　ləwr *d͡ʑun* *na*　*suɪt*
　　　　　big　life　NEG　become.PFV
　　　　　'Even though Sofia won the prize, she has not become arrogant.'
　　　　　(lit. Even though Sofia is one who got the prize, she has not
　　　　　become arrogant.)

(10.151) *sejfik-an*　　*wi*　　　　　　*ato*　　*ano*　　*post* *qad*　*mas*
　　　　　Seyfik-GEN　3SG.NNOM.DIST father　mother　low　height also

　　　　　tsa　*vəw＝in*　　　　　*ju*　　　　　*χuɪbaθ*　　*buɪland*
　　　　　COND be.IPFV＝3PL.IPFV 3SG.NOM.DIST REFL.NOM　high

　　　　　qad
　　　　　height
　　　　　'Even though his parents are short, Seyfik is tall.'

(10.152) *χsrəw*　　*puɪgan*　　*tid＝it͡ɕuz*　　*mas* *tsa*　　*vid*
　　　　　Hsreaw　tomorrow　go.INF＝REL　also COND　be.3SG.IPFV

　　　　　t͡ɕing　　*az*　*zord*　*t͡ɕɛr* *kaxt*
　　　　　genuinely　ABL　heart　work　do.3SG.IPFV
　　　　　'Even though Hsreaw is leaving tomorrow, he is working passion-
　　　　　ately.' (lit. Even though Hsreaw is one who is leaving tomor-
　　　　　row, he is working passionately.)

(10.153) *ta-an*　　　　　*puɪl*　*na* *mas* *tsa*　*vid*
　　　　　2SG.NNOM-GEN money NEG also COND be.3SG.IPFV

　　　　　joð
　　　　　come.IPFV
　　　　　'Come even if you do not have money.'

10.2.3.3 Counterfactual

The counterfactual is a type of conditional AC in which the speaker asserts the protasis not to be true. This construction is formed by adding the *tsa* particle immediately before or after the verb in the protasis, adding the *=ik* durative marker to any preverbal element in both the protasis and the apodosis, and using the pluperfect form of the verb (perfect verb stem + cessative marker *-it*) in both the protasis and the apodosis. (10.154) - (10.158) are examples of counterfactuals.

(10.154) *tudʒik   tej=ik   tsa   vɛðdʑ-it,*
        Tajik   wedding=DUR   COND   be.PRF-CESS

        waz=am=ik   a=ta   juðdʑ-it
        1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV=DUR   ACC=2SG.NNOM   take.PRF-CESS
        'If it had been a Tajik wedding, I would have taken you.'

(10.155) *mu-an   radzɛn=ik   tsa   vɛðdʑ-it,*
        1SG.NNOM-GEN   daughter=DUR   COND   be.PRF-CESS

        tu=ri=am=ik   ðudʑ-it
        2SG.NNOM=DAT=1SG.PFV=DUR   give.PRF-CESS
        'If I had a daughter, I would have given her to you.'

(10.156) *waz=am=ik   purs   ziv   tsa*
        1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV=DUR   Persian   tongue   COND

        wazondʑ-it,   iron=am=ik   tujdʑ-it
        know.PRF-CESS   Iran=1SG.PFV=DUR   go.PRF-CESS
        'If I had known Persian, I would have gone to Iran.'

(10.157) *ta-an   pasport=ik   tsa   vɛðdʑ-it,*
        2SG.NNOM-GEN   passport=DUR   COND   be.PRF-CESS

        kudʑur=at=ik   tujdʑ-it
        where=2SG.PFV=DUR   go.PRF-CESS
        'If you had had a passport, where would you have gone?'

(10.158) *waz=am=ik   varɕidɛ   tsa   vɛðdʑ-it,*
        1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV=DUR   Varshide   COND   be.PRF-CESS

        ta   ar   tej=am=ik   iθtɕ-it
        2SG.NNOM   LOC   wedding=1SG.PFV=DUR   come.PRF-CESS
        'If I had been in Varshide, I would have come to your wedding.'

10.2.3.4 Explanatory reason

The explanatory reason AC consists of an infinitival clause with the AC verb preceded by the ablative marker *az* and followed by the subordinating conjunction *=i*. The reason clause generally occurs at the beginning of the main clause, and is used when a speaker is offering new information in the subordinate clause to support a claim made in the main clause. (10.159) - (10.161) below illustrate this type of reason clause.

(10.159) *mu   pa   tilfon   tuk   az   na   rejd=i*
            1SG.NNOM LOC phone electricity ABL NEG remain.INF=SC

          tu=ri=am   tilfon   na   tɕi   tɕəwg
          2SG.NNOM=DAT=1SG.PFV   phone NEG CAP do.PFV
          'I could not call you because there was no power left in my phone.'

(10.160) *wɛf   pa   tɕɛd   ləwr   mejmun-χejl   az*
            3PL.NNOM.DIST LOC house big   guest-PL.NOM ABL

          jɛt=i   a=kalo=af   kaxt
          come.INF=SC   ACC=sheep=3PL.PFV   slaughter.PFV
          'They slaughtered a sheep because they had important guests.'

(10.161) *nurbia   χu   ɕejdoi   az   bunost=i*
            Nurbia REFL.NNOM Sheydoi ABL lose.INF=SC

          wi   ano   χafo   sut
          3SG.NNOM.DIST mother upset become.PFV
          'Nurbia's mother got upset because Nurbia lost her Sheydoi (female cap).'

10.2.3.5 Suppositional reason

The suppositional reason AC is formed with an infinitival clause followed by *mazamun* 'since', and the main clause follows the AC. This type of reason AC may be considered "echoic", meaning that the information in the subordinate clause is supposed to be contextually available to the speaker, and usually to the hearer. This is exemplified in the following examples.

(10.162) *wɛf*   *batɕo* *tindʐ*   *amun*   *waʐɛvd*
          3PL.NNOM.DIST child   peaceful unharmed   return.INF

          mazamun *woð = af*   *dijur*   *χalg = ir*
          since   3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV   region   person = DAT

          ziofat *ðud*
          party   give.PFV
          'Since their son returned peaceful and unharmed, they threw a
          party for the village people.'

(10.163) *puɡan*   *maɕ-an*   *dars*   *na*   *vid*   *mazamun*
          tomorrow   1PL.NNOM-GEN   lesson   NEG   be.INF   since

          waz   *χu*   *dud*   *pa*   *tɕɛd*
          1SG.NOM   REFL.NNOM   uncle   LOC   house

          so = am
          become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
          'Since we do not have class tomorrow, I am going to my uncle's
          house.'

(10.164) *asan* *az*   *ta*   *atuin*   *afu*   *parst*
          Asan   ABL   2SG.NNOM   purposefully   forgiveness   ask.INF

          mazamun *təw*   *wi*   *qati*   *ejl*
          since   2SG.NOM   3SG.NNOM.DIST   COM   reconciled

          so   *tsa*   *səwd*
          become.IPFV   COND   become.3SG.IPFV
          'Since Asan specifically asked you for forgiveness, you can recon-
          cile with him.'

(10.165) *waz*   *iχil*   *ar*   *xojd*   *vid*   *mazamun*
          1SG.NOM   continuously   LOC   read.INF   be.INF   since

          watɕa-an   *pur*   *χalg-ɛf*   *na*
          Wacha-GEN   much   person-PL.NNOM   NEG

          wazon = am
          know.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
          'Since I have been studying continuously, I do not know a lot of
          people in Wacha.'

10.2.3.6 Purpose

The purpose AC is formed with an infinitival clause followed by the benefactive marker *avon*, as in (10.166) - (10.169) or the dative marker *=ir*, as in (10.170) - (10.173). Both types of purpose ACs typically occur before the entire main clause or immediately after the subject, but it may also be postposed to sentence-final position, as shown in (10.173).

(10.166)   *χu   puts   ar   amriko   xajond   avon   maχsat*
             REFL.NNOM   son   LOC   America   study.CAUS.INF   BEN   Mahsat

               dam   na   zoxt   tɕɛr   kaxt
               rest   NEG   get.INF   work   do.3SG.IPFV
            'In order to let his son study in America, Mahsat works without resting.'

(10.167)   *tilak   batɕo-ɛf=ir   samʁut   zoxt   avon   pa   dikʉn*
             Tilak   child-PL.NNOM=DAT   gift   buy.INF   BEN   LOC   store

               dejd
               enter.PFV
            'Tilak went into the store to buy gifts for the children.'

(10.168)   *mu   puts   χu   tɕɛd   zoxt   avon   az*
             1SG.NNOM   son   REFL.NNOM   house   get.INF   BEN   ABL

               mu   pul   zʉxt
               1SG.NNOM   money   get.PFV
            'My son got money from me to buy his house.'

(10.169)   *waz=am   joɕ-i   alo   ʉtɕ   pur   ginu*
             1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV   young-NMLZ   TEMP   very   much   sin

               tɕəwɣdʐ-it   ɕitɕ=ik   χu   ginu   znod   avon
               do.PRF-CESS   now=DUR   REFL.NNOM   sin   wash.INF   BEN

               kixix   k=am
               endeavor   do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
            'I sinned very much when I was young, and now I am endeavoring to purge my sin.'

(10.170) *adirdin χu   dud=ir   tamoq jod=ir   pa*
Adirdn   REFL.NNOM uncle=DAT food   take.INF=DAT LOC

      duχturχuno tujd
      hospital   go.PFV
'Adirdin went to the hospital to take food to his uncle.'

(10.171) *gawar a=wɛf   tar   pond wɛðd=ir*
Gawar   ACC=3PL.NNOM.DIST LOC road   put.INF=DAT

      naxtug
      go.up.PFV
'Gawar went to see them out.'

(10.172) *waz=am   az   mejnaχon i   tsiz   parst=ir*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV ABL Meynahon one thing ask.INF=DAT

      wi   pa   jatoq=am   sut
      3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC dormitory=1SG.PFV become.PFV
'I went to Meynahon's dormitory to ask her something.'

(10.173) *joð,   alid=ir*
come.IPFV lie.INF=DAT
'Come over to sleep over.'

The purpose AC construction is also used for indicating how long it has been since a certain situation has happened, or how much time remains until a certain situation will happen, as in (10.174) & (10.175), respectively.

(10.174) a. *tu=ri   varçidɛ jɛt=ir   tsund*
     2SG.NNOM=DAT Varshide come.INF=DAT how.much

      waχt sut
      time   become.PFV
'How long has it been since you came to Varshide?'

   b. *mu=ri   varçidɛ jɛt=ir   woxt sul*
     1SG.NNOM=DAT Varshide come.INF=DAT eight year

      sut
      become.PFV
'It has been eight years since I came to Varshide.'

(10.175) a. *təw*   *χu*   *tej*   *tɕejg=ir*   *tsund*
2SG.NOM   REFL.NNOM   wedding   do.INF=DAT   how.much

      waχt   *rejd*
      time   remain.PFV
'How long will it be until you get married?'

b. *waz*   *χu*   *tej*   *tɕejg=ir*   *tsavur*
1SG.NOM   REFL.NNOM   wedding   do.INF=DAT   how.much

      most   *rejd*
      time   remain.PFV
'I have four months until I get married.'

10.2.3.7 Means and simultaneity

One of the ways to express the means of performing an action is by using an AC construction, marked with an infinitival clause followed by the comitative and instrumental function marker *qati*:

(10.176) *ɕanigul*   *pa*   *ristron*   *tɕer*   *tɕejg*   *qati*   *pul*
Shanigeel   LOC   restaurant   work   do.INF   COM   money

      vrejd
      find.3SG.IPFV
'Shanigeel makes money by working at a restaurant.'

(10.177) *waz=am*   *kinu*   *tɕixt*   *qati*   *ziv*   *χumand*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV   movie   watch.INF   COM   tongue   learn

      sut
      become.PFV
'I learned the language by watching movies.'

This AC construction may also be used to indicate that a situation occurred at the same time as another situation (the situation in the main clause). If the two situations happen simultaneously in a very short moment, the word *tang* 'simultaneous' may be added after *qati*, as in (10.179).

(10.178) *nizamidin*   *bejt*   *lɛvd*   *qati*   *pa*   *tɕɛd*   *waʑɛvd*
Nizamidin   song   say.INF   COM   LOC   house   return.PFV
'Nizamidin went home singing.'

(10.179) *ojmira   naxtig   qati   tang   amad   dejd*
      Oimira   go.up.INF   COM   simultaneous   Amad   enter.PFV
      'Amad entered as Oimira came out.'

10.2.3.8 Time

Sarikoli has two different constructions of temporal AC: 1) a genuine temporal AC with the durative marker =*ik*, and 2) an RC construction with a time word as its head. The first construction makes use of aspect and juxtaposition. The temporal AC, which precedes the main clause, takes a verb in the perfective stem and the durative enclitic =*ik*, which attaches to a preverbal element. The main clause which follows the AC takes an imperfective verb, and the two clauses are juxtaposed. This type of construction is only used when neither of the situations in the two clauses has happened yet.

(10.180) *ɕejdoi-χejl=af=ik   fript,   waz*
      Sheydoi-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV=DUR   reach.PFV   1SG.NOM

      tu=ri   tilfon   ka=am
      2SG.NNOM=DAT   phone   do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
      'Once the Sheydois (female cap) have arrived, I will call you.'

(10.181) *suat   ðɛs   a   ða=ik   sut=aθ,   maɕ*
      hour   ten   CONJ   two=DUR   become.PFV=EMP   1PL.NOM

      tɛdz=an
      go.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
      'Once it is 12 o'clock, we will go.'

(10.182) *varɕidɛ=at=ik   fript,   mu=ri   tilfon*
      Varshide=2SG.PFV=DUR   reach.PFV   1SG.NNOM=DAT   phone

      ka
      do.IPFV
      'Once you have arrived in Varshide, call me.'

(10.183) *urumtɕi=am=ik   jɛt   mejdʑ   sut,   tom*
      Urumqi=1SG.PFV=DUR   come.INF   INTEN   become.PFV   then

      χabar   ka=an
      news   do.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
      'When I plan to go to Urumqi, then let us exchange news.'

(10.184) *mu*   *batɕo-χejl = af = ik*   *ləwr sut,*
          1SG.NNOM   child-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV = DUR   big   become.PFV

          tom   dam zoz = am
          then   rest   get.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
          'Once my children have grown older, I will get rest.'

(10.185) *ta*   *pa*   *dil = ik*   *jot*   *mu = ri*
          2SG.NNOM   LOC   heart = DUR   come.PFV   1SG.NNOM = DAT

          lɛv
          say.IPFV
          'Tell me when you remember it.' (lit. Tell me when it has come
          to your heart.)

The second way of forming temporal clauses involves an unmarked infinitival
RC with a time word as its head. When pointing directly to the time in the
embedded clause, the unmarked infinitival RC is headed by the noun *waχt*
'time' or the temporal particle *alo*, without any function markers.

(10.186) *ɕəwgunbahor*   *ejd*   *narzambond* *waχt* *nudʑ* *lɛq*
          Sheawgeenbahor festival celebrate.INF time   new   clothing

          pamɛdʑ = in
          wear.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
          'They wear new clothes when celebrating the Sheawgeenbahor
          festival.'

(10.187) *waz*   *ðɛs*   *at*   *uvd*   *sulo*   *vid*   *alo*   *tej*
          1SG.NOM   ten   CONJ   seven   year.old   be.INF   TEMP   wedding

          tɕəwɣdʑ = ɛndʑ
          do.PRF = REL
          'I am one who got married when I was seventeen years old.'

Different function markers are used for indicating different temporal relations
between the main clause and the embedded situation, such as 'before' and
'after'. To point to a time before the embedded situation, the infinitival RC is
followed by the compound function marker *tɕi prud* 'in front of; before'.

(10.188) *a = dustarχun*   *wixt*   *tɕi*   *prud* *futa* *ka = in*
          ACC = tablecloth gather.INF LOC front pray do.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
          'They pray before gathering the tablecloth.'

(10.189) *maç   ar   maktab fript   tçi   prud*
        1PL.NNOM LOC school reach.INF LOC front

        mu=ri   tilfon   ka
        1SG.NNOM=DAT phone do.IPFV
      'Call me before you reach our school.'

To point to a time after the embedded situation, the infinitival RC is followed by the compound function marker *az zabu* 'behind; after':

(10.190) *a=kalo   kaxt   az   zabu a=wi*
        ACC=sheep slaughter.INF ABL back ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST

        guxt pɛdz=in
        meat cook.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
      'After killing the sheep they cook that meat.'

(10.191) *xipik   tçejg   az   zabu a=wɛf   pa*
        flatbread do.INF ABL back ACC=3PL.NNOM.DIST LOC

        nohija   para ðo=an
        county sell give.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
      'After making the flatbread we sell it in the county seat.'

10.2.3.9 Location

Sarikoli makes use of an RC construction to express location with a clause. The locative clause may take either the *=ɛndʑ* or *=itçuz* relativizer, and the head of the RC is often *dʑuj* 'place', but it may also be a more specific location word. Optionally, a function marker may immediately precede or follow the RC head, indicating the spatial relationship between the RC head and the relativized 'place' in the main clause, as shown in (10.192) - (10.194).

(10.192) *çanbɛ   χu   tilfon   latçəwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ tçi   dʑuj   alima*
        Shanbe REFL.NNOM phone put.PRF=REL   LOC place Alima

        nalust
        sit.PFV
      'Alima sat in the place where Shanbe put his phone.'

(10.193) *woð*   *tej*   *tɕejg = itɕuz*   *dʑuj*   *pa*   *prud*
          3PL.NOM.DIST   wedding   do.INF = REL   place   LOC   front

          χuɕruj   *gul-ɛf = af*   *latɕəwg*
          beautiful   flower-PL.NNOM = 3PL.PFV   put.PFV
          'They placed beautiful flowers in front of the place where they are
          getting married.'

(10.194) *maɕ*   *xojdʑ = ɛndʑ*   *ar*   *maktab*   *sɛð*   *ðɛs*   *tudʑik*
          1PL.NOM   read.PRF = REL   LOC   school   this.year   ten   Tajik

          batɕo   *iθtɕ*
          child   come.PRF
          'This year, ten Tajik students came to the school where we stud-
          ied.'

The same structure may be used for expressing substitution, or the replace-
ment of one situation with another. The RC takes the unmarked infinitival
form, and the locative marker *tɕi* precedes the head noun *dʑuj*. The literal
meaning of this construction is 'in the place of X', where 'X' represents the
situation within the unmarked RC. This is illustrated in examples (10.195) -
(10.197) below.

(10.195) *kafton*   *χu*   *dars*   *xojd*   *tɕi*   *dʑuj*   *skit*
          Kafton   REFL.NNOM   lesson   read.INF   LOC   place   play

          tɕejg = ir   *tujd*
          do.INF = DAT   go.PFV
          'Kafton went to play instead of studying in class.'

(10.196) *ramon*   *ejd*   *narzambond*   *tɕi*   *dʑuj*   *χu*   *χejx*
          Ramon   festival   celebrate.INF   LOC   place   REFL.NNOM   relative

          ar   *margi*   *tujd*
          LOC   funeral   go.PFV
          'Ramon went to his relative's funeral instead of celebrating the
          festival.'

(10.197) *samʁut*   *ðod*   *tɕi*   *dʑuj*   *pul*   *maɕ = ir*
          gift   give.INF   LOC   place   money   1PL.NNOM = DAT

          ðo = it
          give.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
          'Give us money instead of giving us gifts.'

10.2.3.10 Manner

The manner clause is also expressed through an RC construction, with the semblative function marker *rang* as the head. This strategy for expressing manner takes the perfect verb stem and =*ɛndʑ* relativizer, regardless of whether the embedded situation has already happened, as in (10.198) & (10.199), or has present time reference, as in (10.200) & (10.201).

(10.198) *woð=af* 　　　　　*dʑang* *tɕəwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ* *rang* *ʁoɕ*
　　　　　3PL.NOM.DIST=3PL.PFV war 　do.PRF=REL 　SEMB fight

　　　　wɛðd
　　　　put.PFV
'They fought as if they were fighting a war.'

(10.199) *sobir* *haroj* *maθ* *hitɕ* *tsiz* *na* *χuɣdʑ=ɛndʑ* *rang* *uɕ*
　　　　　Sobir three day none thing NEG eat.PRF=REL SEMB very

　　　　pur *χuɡ*
　　　　much eat.PFV
'Sobir ate so much, as if he had not eaten anything for three days.'

(10.200) *χu* 　　　*pa* *tɕɛd* *naluɕtɕ=ɛndʑ* *rang*
　　　　　REFL.NNOM LOC house sit.PRF=REL 　SEMB

　　　　niθ=it
　　　　sit.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
'Sit as if you are sitting in your own home.'

(10.201) *purg* *a=girindʑ* *tɕardʑ* *wandʑ=ɛndʑ* *rang* *waz*
　　　　　mouse ACC=rice good see.PRF=REL SEMB 1SG.NOM

　　　　a=ta 　　　　*tɕardʑ* *wejn=am*
　　　　ACC=2SG.NNOM good 　see.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'As a mouse loves rice, I love you.'